

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7671
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USBERLIN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 06876

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN: BERLIN AND INNER-
GERMAN ASPECTS

REFS: (A) MOSCOW 7540; (B) BONN 6398 (LIMDIS-NOTAL);
(C) 77 BONN 20577 (NOTAL); (D) BONN 6377 (NOTAL)
(E) BONN 4556 (NOTAL); (F) BERLIN 2484 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE FRG HAS GIVEN THE ALLIES IN THE
BONN GROUP FURTHER DETAILS ON HOW IT PLANS TO HANDLE
BERLIN AND INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS DURING THE BREZHNEV
VISIT TO BONN. A SUMMARY REPORT WAS ALSO GIVEN ON THE
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APRIL 7 PLANNING SESSION BETWEEN FRG STATE SECRETARY
VAN WELL AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN. END SUMMARY

1. AT THE APRIL 11 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRG REP
(VON BRAUNMUEHL) PROVIDED A BRIEFING ON THE BERLIN AND
INNER-GERMAN ASPECTS OF BREZHNEV'S MAY 4-6 VISIT TO THE
FRG. HE SAID HIS INFORMATION REFLECTED THE PRELIMINARY

THINKING OF STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE (REF B).

2. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE FRG WANTED TO SEE THE TWO PARTIES SIGN A TECHNICAL COMMUNIQUE AND A JOINT STATEMENT AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT. THE FRG WAS PRESENTLY PREPARING A DRAFT TEXT FOR THE STATEMENT, WHICH WOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE SOVIETS BY THE FRG EMBASSY IN MOSCOW. THE DRAFT WOULD INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO THE PETERSBERG FORMULA ("STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE QA) BECAUSE THE FRG WANTED A REAFFIRMATION OF THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THAT PRINCIPLE. (THIS FORMULATION, AGREED BY BREZHNEV DURING HIS 1973 VISIT TO BONN, READS: "THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS (QA) AGREEMENT ARE AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR LASTING DETENTE IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE AND FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CORRESPONDING STATES, ESPECIALLY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.)

3. THE STATEMENT WOULD ALSO CONTAIN A CAUTIOUS AND GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR TRUST AND A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG WANTED TO INCLUDE THIS REFERENCE BECAUSE IT HAD RECENTLY RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION FROM THE GDR

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PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN BONN THAT THE SOVIETS, IN CONTRAST TO THEIR POLICY DURING THE HEYDAY OF "OSTPOLITIK," HAVE BEEN DISCOURAGING CLOSER CONTACT BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR.

4. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG DID NOT PLAN TO EMPHASIZE BERLIN EITHER IN ITS TREATMENT OF THE PRESS OR IN ITS TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS. RATHER THAN CONDITIONING ALL PROGRESS ON THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD BERLIN, THE FRG HOPED THAT A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN USSR-FRG RELATIONS WOULD REDOUND TO THE BENEFIT OF BERLIN. IN HANDLING THE PRESS, THE FRG DID NOT WISH TO RAISE FALSE HOPES CONCERNING BERLIN OR GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE TRIP DEPENDED ON BERLIN.

5. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT BERLIN NEVERTHELESS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN USSR-FRG RELATIONS. AS SUCH, HE EXPECTED IT TO BE THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED WITH THE SOVIET GUESTS. THE QUESTION OF BERLIN'S TIES TO THE FRG WAS LIKELY TO COME IN FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION. THE FRG HAD RECEIVED INDICATIONS IN MOSCOW THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE ON THE SUBJECT IF THE FRG

WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT WEST BERLIN WAS NOT A "CONSTITUENT PART" OF THE FRG. THE FRG COULD DO NO MORE IN THIS

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CONNECTION, HE SAID, THAN REITERATE ITS POSITION AS REFLECTED IN
VON DOHNANYI'S NOVEMBER 28, 1977 STATEMENT IN THE
BUNDESTAG (REF C).

6. ASKED ABOUT THE SOVIET "INDICATIONS," VON BRAUNMUEHL
SAID THEY SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS TOO SIGNIFI-
CANT. SOME VAGUE REMARKS TO THIS EFFECT HAD BEEN MADE
BY A PARTY MEMBER IN MOSCOW TO A NON-OFFICIAL VISITOR
FROM THE FRG. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT DURING THE VISIT
THE FRG WOULD BE CONCERNED WITH RESTORING SOVIET
TRUST IN THE FRG'S COMMITMENT TO STRICT OBSERVANCE
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AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ENTIRE QA, INCLUDING THE NO-CONSTITUENT-PART PASSAGE. THE FRG INTENDED TO EMPHASIZE THE REALITIES IN BERLIN AND THAT BERLIN WAS NOT A THIRD GERMAN STATE. IT WOULD NOT RAISE SPECIFIC POINTS, IN ORDER TO AVOID APPEARING AS DEMANDEUR.

7. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE AGREEMENTS ON TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE WERE STALLED BECAUSE THE FRG COULD NOT ACCEPT SOVIET CONDITIONS ON THE SELECTION OF FRG EXPERTS(FROM BERLIN-BASED FRG AGENCIES) TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENTS. THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH TIME TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT ON DOUBLE TAXATION DURING THE VISIT, BUT THE TWO SIDES WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK ON IT. THE DIFFICULTIES HERE WERE NOT ALLRELATED TO BERLIN. IF THE FRG BUSINESS COMMUNITY DID NOT EXPRESS SUBSTANTIVE INTEREST IN SUCH AN AGREEMENT, THE FRG WOULD NOT PURSUE IT.

8. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE FRG WAS NOT PURSUING THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT. THIS DECISION WAS TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO ALLIED DOUBTS, WHICH THE FRG HAD COME TO SHARE.

9. ON A CONSULAR AGREEMENT, VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE GDR HAD SAID THAT THE FRG WOULD HAVE TO REACH AN AGREE-
MENT WITH THE USSR BEFORE IT COULD EXPECT ONE FROM THE GDR. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD SAID IN 1973 THAT THEY MIGHT BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO STATE THAT FRG CONSULAR ASSISTANCE TO WEST BERLINERS ABROAD WAS COMPATIBLE WITH THE QA. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT DO SO, HOWEVER, UNLESS THE FRG MADE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. HE NOTED THAT THIS WAS AT THE TIME OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRON-
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MENTAL AGENCY (FEA) IN WEST BERLIN, AND THE "POLITICAL CONCESSION" WOULD HAVE BEEN AN FRG DECISION NOT TO ESTABLISH THE FEA THERE. AGAIN, IN MARCH 1977, THE SOVIETS HAD INDICATED THAT THEY DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MIGHT REACH AN AGREEMENT ON CONSULAR ASSISTANCE.

10. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID BERLIN'S ENERGY SUPPLY MIGHT BE RAISED. THE FRG WOULD NOT RAISE BERLIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE EC, BUT IT WOULD BE PREPARED IF THE SOVIETS

DID SO. ON THE PARTICIPATION OF BERLINERS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE FRG PLANNED TO MENTION THE "PETTINESS" OF SOVIET OBSTRUCTIONISM. THE CHANCELLOR WOULD ALSO PROBABLY RAISE SOME DIFFICULT POINTS IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS AND TRY TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT THE FRG WAS NOT PLAYING THEM AND THE GDR OFF AGAINST ONE ANOTHER.

11. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT GOVERNING MAYOR STOBBE MIGHT ATTEND ONE OF THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE VISIT.

12. VON BRAUNMUEHL ALSO REPORTED BRIEFLY ON VAN WELL'S APRIL 7 PLANNING SESSION WITH AMBASSADOR FALIN. FALIN TOLD VAN WELL THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE IN AGREEMENT ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT. FALIN SAID THAT THE SOVIET SIDE SAW IT AS PART OF A LONG-TERM EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. DESPITE SOME OBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES, FALIN SAID IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO STRESS THE CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECTS OF FRG/USSR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS. THIS IN ITSELF COULD MAKE THE VISIT USEFUL. FALIN OBSERVED THAT THERE WERE, OF COURSE, PROBLEMS IN WEST BERLIN, BUT DURING THE VISIT IT COULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WERE SOME GOOD ASPECTS AS WELL. IN THIS REGARD, FALIN CRITICIZED THE PURPOSEFUL PESSIMISM ("ZWECKPESSIMISMUS") OF THE WEST GERMAN MASS MEDIA.
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13. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID FALIN WAS ABLE TO SAY LITTLE ABOUT SPECIFIC PROJECTS CONCERNING BERLIN. FALIN THOUGHT THAT THE PREPARATION FOR THE VISIT MIGHT FORCE

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THESE TO A HIGHER LEVEL INSIDE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT,
WHICH MIGHT IN TURN INDUCE THE TWO COMPETENT SOVIET
MINISTRIES TO GET MOVING. FALIN SAID THAT THE
STAGNATION IN THE PROJECTS AND AGREEMENTS WAS BAD AND
THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD WELCOME MOVEMENT ON THEM.

14. AFTER THE BRIEFING, THE FRENCH REP (RICHARD) ASKED
ABOUT A REPORT IN "BILD ZEITUNG," THE MASS-CIRCULATION
WEST GERMAN DAILY, THAT BREZHNEV WOULD VISIT EAST BERLIN
ON MAY 8. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID HE HAD NO INFORMATION
ABOUT THIS.

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15. THE US REP ASKED ABOUT THE REMARKS BY EGON FRANKE,
FRG MINISTER FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, THAT CHANCELLOR
SCHMIDT WOULD VISIT EAST BERLIN SOON AFTER BREZHNEV'S
VISIT TO BONN (REF D). VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID HE HAD NO
NEW INFORMATION ON THE VISIT SINCE THE CHANCELLOR'S
"STATE OF THE NATION" ADDRESS IN JANUARY (REF E).

16. VON BRAUNMUEHL ALSO MENTIONED THE APRIL 11 EDITORIAL
IN "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" CRITICIZING "CERTAIN FORCES"
IN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN FOR ATTEMPTING TO UNDERMINE
THE QA. AS IN REF F, HE BELIEVED THE GDR ARGUMENTATION
AND TONE WERE UNEXCEPTIONABLE. THE MAIN QUESTION THEN
WAS WHY IT HAD BEEN PRINTED NOW. THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE
CONCRETE REASON FOR A REPETITION OF THE GDR POSITION.

BY A PROCESS OF ELIMINATION, IT PROBABLY APPEARED IN CONNECTION WITH THE BREZHNEV VISIT.

17. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN EAST BERLIN WAS CONVINCED THAT THE ARTICLE WAS COORDINATED WITH, AND PERHAPS EVEN INITIATED BY, THE SOVIETS. HE NOTED THAT AT A SOCIAL FUNCTION ON APRIL 10 AN FRG PERMREP OFFICER HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY A SOVIET DIPLOMAT WHO IMMEDIATELY RAISED THE ISSUE OF FEDERAL ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN. IN DOING SO, THE SOVIET HAD MENTIONED MOST OF THE SEVERAL POINTS LISTED IN THE ND ARTICLE. THE SOVIET HAD THEN SUGGESTED, AS DID THE ARTICLE, THAT THE BERLIN QUESTION IN GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS WOULD BE MUCH EASIER IF THE FRG WOULD DISCONTINUE POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS IN BERLIN. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION THUS

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FELT THAT IT COULD NOT BE EXCLUDED THAT THE ND ARTICLE WAS A SIGNAL FOR THE POSITION THE SOVIETS WILL TAKE DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN.
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